

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:JSDAVISON:RM

APPROVED BY EUR: JGLOWENSTEIN

L/EUR:HRUSSELL

EUR/RPM:EJSTREATOR

C:HSOHNENFELDT

S/S: WLUERS

EUR/SOV: MJGARRISON

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R 011957Z OCT 74

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 216095

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: PEACEFUL CHANGE

REFS: A) BONN 15248; B) BONN 14709; C) STATE 213648

1. ON SEPTEMBER 27, SOVIET MINISTER VORONTSOV GAVE US A NEW TEXT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE READING AS FOLLOWS: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN CHANGE ONLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT." VORONTSOV EXPLAINED THAT THIS TEXT REPLACES A FORMULATION WHICH SOVIETS HAD PRESENTED TO GERMANS READING AS FOLLOWS: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW ONLY BY PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREE-  
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MENT." LATTER TEXT, VORONTSOV EXPLAINED, CONTAINED "TYPING

ERROR" AND HAS BEEN WITHDRAWN. ADDRESSEES WILL NOTE THAT IN CONVERSATIONS WITH SECRETARY SEPTEMBER 20 AND 24 (REFTEL C) GROMYKO STATED STRONG PREFERENCE FOR LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE AGREED AT GENEVA APRIL 5, WITH FRG RESERVATION: "THE PARTICIPATING STATES CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED ONLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT" RATHER THAN TEXT WHICH US TABLED JULY 26: "IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW, THE PARTICIPATING STATES CONSIDER THAT THEIR FRONTIERS CAN BE CHANGED THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS AND BY AGREEMENT." TEXT WHICH SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN US, OF

COURSE, PARALLELS APRIL 5 FORMULATION VERY CLOSELY.

2. PRIOR TO VAN WELL'S DEPARTURE FOR BONN SEPTEMBER 28, HARTMAN SENT HIM NEW TEXT WHICH VORONTSOV HAD GIVEN US. HARTMAN ALSO ASKED THAT FRG GET IN TOUCH WITH SOVIETS TO DISCUSS PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE, WHILE INDICATING TO VAN WELL THAT WE DO NOT PLAN AT THIS TIME ANY FURTHER NEGOTIATION WITH SOVIETS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE ISSUE. WE ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT US COULD ACCEPT WHATEVER FORMULATION GERMANS PREFER.

3. SOVIETS WERE ALSO TOLD HERE AT HIGH LEVEL ISSUE SHOULD BE DIRECTLY HANDLED BETWEEN THEM AND THE FRG AT THIS TIME, SINCE FRG PRINCIPALLY CONCERNED WITH MATTER. US WOULD BE PREPARED TO REVIEW MATTER AGAIN WHEN WE HAD SOME INDICATION THAT SOVIETS AND FRG HAD COME TO TERMS ON IT.

4. WE ASSUME THAT VAN WELL WILL BE IN TOUCH THROUGH FRG EMBASSY WASHINGTON OR THROUGH EMBASSY BONN IN CONNECTION WITH FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. MEANWHILE, YOU MAY WISH TO INQUIRE CONCERNING FURTHER FRG-SOVIET EXCHANGES ON THIS SUBJECT. INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** BOUNDARY DETERMINATION, COLLECTIVE SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL LAW, TEXT, AGREEMENTS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 OCT 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CollinP0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974STATE216095  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** JSDAVISON:RM  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740277-0912  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Line Count:** 96  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN SS  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 2  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** A) BONN 15248; B) BONN 14709; C) STA, TE 213648  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CollinP0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 26 APR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <26 APR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <07 MAR 2003 by CollinP0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: PEACEFUL CHANGE  
**TAGS:** PFOR, (VORONTSOV)  
**To:** BONN  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005